1: Petrullo E-S (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19 ●
Venezuela SS1

Y
105

SUMMARY

The Yaruros are river nomads, practicing no agriculture and keeping no domestic animals except the dog. Their material culture is meager, being limited to what they can carry in their canoes as they wander from one camp to another. Expecting extermination within a short time, they have turned to life after death for consolation.

We know practically nothing of the Yaruros as they were several hundred years ago. According to the missionary accounts they had a simpler culture than the other tribes inhabiting the region of the delta of the Apure. However, lacking descriptions of the Yaruros, we cannot make sound comparisons. There is very little in the modern Yaruro culture which resembles that of the Otomacos and Tamanacos as described in the missionary accounts.

The things that distinguish the Yaruros from Racionales (as the "civilized" people are known) are lack of permanent abodes, no domestic animals, and no agriculture. The things that are common to both groups are the bow and arrow, the canoe and paddle, and hunting. Among the Yaruros there is a closer communal life than among the Racionales.

In the material culture of the Yaruros we can discover but few elements which have been borrowed from the Europeans. Of these, the use of iron is the most important. Formerly the Yaruros had only bone and wood out of which to shape arrow points, but now iron has displaced these other primitive materials. The use of iron knives, an occasional ax, a hammer, and a heavy iron hoe used by the women on their digging sticks, has, of course, been introduced by the traders. In exchange for these elements the Yaruros have given to the Racionales the bow and arrow, the canoe, the gourd rattle, basketry, and pottery.

The Yaruro in recent years has been even further removed from European culture than he was several centuries ago. The policy of the late dictator, Gen. Juan Vicente Gomez, of disarming the Venezuelans to keep down revolutions, left the people of the llanos without any ammunition, even though they might have old shotguns and rifles. Guns and ammunition were smuggled in at a premium and were far beyond the means of the Llanero peasant and cowboy. As a result, those who were not attached to the household of some powerful absentee rancher were forced to eke out a living with bow and arrow.

The world depression and the cattle monopoly of General Gomez affected the Llaneros also in two ways. Cattle could no longer be sold at a profitable price and the workers were forced either to abandon the country and withdraw to the cities or to Guiana, to become farmers, or to live in an even more primitive style than they

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105
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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19 ●
Venezuela SS1

Y 105 SS1 ●

were accustomed to. That is, they had to fall back on a life somewhat similar to that of the Yaruros. Today one finds close to some river bank a little hut, the home of one of these Llaneros. In such a household one may find a man, his wife, and children. Their only possessions are what they can gather and make from their environment. They may have a garden in which they raise plantains and bananas, a little maize, and yucca. But the soil of the Llaneros is not fit for fertile gardens, so these people have to depend on hunting and fishing for most of their food. These are the people with whom the Yaruro have most contact. There is nothing in their houses and nothing in their mode of living to attract the Yaruro. As a matter of fact the Yaruros themselves made the comment that a Racionale's house was dirty and full of vermin and insect life, whereas they, preferring to live on the open beaches behind no shelter, had the advantage of moving about from one clean camp site to another.

Y 186

Y 177

How much the Yaruros have borrowed from Spanish lore and religious ideas it is impossible to say on a basis of our knowledge. In their religious ideas one might guess that the conception of the existence of an evil spirit and the personality of India Rosa may be the two strongest elements. All these, however, were introduced a long time ago and with the breaking off of communication with the missionaries during the past century they have become weaker and weaker. Today India Rosa is confused with Kuma. The evil spirit appears in only one or two legends and plays hardly any part in the shamanistic performances.

The tenor of the Yaruro culture is typically conservative. Their reaction to any European idea is one of suspicion and fear. For instance, they will not raise domestic animals or learn to cultivate gardens. The Yaruros had their chance, they say, when the world was created, and refused to take it. Now there is only one thing left to them: to live as their ancestors have done and to die.

Y 181

This patient acceptance of their lot is the most characteristic attitude of the Yaruros. They have abandoned all hope of maintaining themselves against the destructive forces of the world around them, and even of dying out peaceably. Their only consolation lies in their firm belief that Kuma is waiting for them in the other world. In other words, not unlike many other American aboriginal groups, they have built for themselves an indestructible heaven, and one from which foreign peoples will be excluded. There they will recapture their ancient mode of life. They will have plenty of food, clothing, horses, and the companionship of their relatives. Kuma's land is a world of bliss, an expression, really, of the living Yaruro's yearning to be allowed to hunt, fish, and live peacefully with each

103
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342
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6:Le Besnerais--13a E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

I. STATEMENT OF COMPLEMENTARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE COMMUNITIES OF THE YARURO (29)

29. For date of observations, location of communities on the Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, and description of habitation types, see "infra" IV List ...38.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30)					Remarks on Sites
			30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...38.					
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III
On the Capanaparo River:								
1	Carlos José Delgado, then, after his death, his wife Severiana.	Santa Ana		9				According to Vicenzo Petrullo's (31) investi- 31. See "infra" IV List...32. gations, the community was called Las Mercedes and was located near the Venezuelan farm of the same name.
2	José Ledema	a) Lagunota abandoned for:		5				Same community as Petrullo's Lagunota (31). 31. See "infra" IV List...32.
	or Juan Esteban Bellac (in the absence of the former)	b) Potrerito	x (32)	x		x		which was situated beside the Venezuelan farm of Piedra Azul.
		32. "x" indicates unenumerated habitations.						
3	Adán Matute	Potrero Grande		4 to 6				The summer encampment located on a shore and not observed is called San Luis.

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
4	Marcelio Castillo	3 sites occupied simultaneously: a) Guacharaca		2					
		b) Agua Linda	2						
		c) Médano Alto		1					At the time of the observations (29), the site 29. /See footnote 29 above./ had only one type II 1 a habitation, temporarily occupied by one ♂, 2 ♀, and 2 children who were to return to Guacharaca.
5	Ramón Beltrán	Médano Alto		5		5			
6	Pedro Ramón Camacho (33) 33. The underlined names are those of higher chiefs (in Spanish: capitán mayor) with greater authority than the other chiefs (in Spanish: capitán menor). This authority generally extends to the neighboring communities sometimes directed by a capitán menor and grouped together on this table by wavy lines.	a) Guamacho abandoned for:		3 to 4				x	
	His actual authority over Ramón Beltrán is contested.	b) (island opposite it)		3 to 4				x	The island was later abandoned for a site farther upstream.

103
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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...38. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
7	Ezequiel Padrón	Morecurito		x		x		x	
8	Ramón Jesús Caravajal (named by the Venezuelans) (34)	Magdalena							
	34. "Named by the Venezuelans" means that he was designated or confirmed as chief by a representative of the Venezuelan authorities.								
		or Caravajal	8			x			
9	Antonio Perasa (named by the Venezuelans and not recognized by the Yaruro)	San José and San Luis	8			x			The winter habitations are invisible from the bank. The summer encampment located on a shore is at San Luis.
10	José Carmen Garcillo	2 sites occupied simultaneously							
		a) Santa Rosa			1				
		b) Caño Amarillo	8						

6:Le Besneraïs--13c E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

103
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342
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[312]

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
11	Andrés or Juan Pío (subordinate of Bernardino Agustín Lopez, surnamed Venado —see community no. 15)	Pozo El Robo (briefly occupied)	x			x			
		then simultaneously Vuelta Mala 1 and Vuelta Mala 2	x			x			
12	Ramo Romilio Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Chaparal or (Vuelta Mala) or (Barranca)	2					x	The type I habitations are located 400/500 m. from the bank.
13	Jacinto Lopez father of the preceding (named by the Venezuelans)	El Rosario	1						The community is located near a forest and a spring of clear water coming from the savanna.
14	Judá Arcaya	Mangalito	1						
15	Bernardino Agustín Lopez surnamed Venado; also has authority over Andrés or Juan Pío (see comm. no. 11). (no doubt named by the Ven.)	El Caliente	2				1	1	The summer encampment is located on an island downstream from the mouth of the Riecito.

C:Le Besnerais--13d E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

103
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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30)						Remarks on Sites
			30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
16	Ramón Dias	El Cebote	3				5	3	The type I habitations are located about 300 m. from the bank.
17	Castillo	La Gavinera	5				x		
18	Simón Pacheco	Merecurito	1						
19	Simón Pacheco	Argentina	3			x			
20	Bilegas	Argentina	x						The habitations are located on the savanna far from the bank.
21	Bilegas	Garici	1 to 2			x			
22	José Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Matacaballo	3						The habitations are far from the bank.
23	Eloy	Monte Zamuro (La Patilla)		x		x			

6:Le Beszerais--13e E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...38.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
On the Riecito River:									
24	?	?	2						The habitations are located about 900 m. from the bank.
25	Cecilio (Cecilito)	Mangrito	6 to 7						The habitations are located 1 km. 600 from the bank. They are surrounded by mango trees.
26	Felipe (Felipito)	?	2			1		1	
27	Jerónimo	?	x					x	The summer encampment is set up under some trees.
28	Gregorio	?	1						
29	José Blanco	?	2			3		1	
30	Luis	?	4	1		5		8	

6:Le Beslerais--13f E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
Between the Capanaparo and Cinaruco Rivers:			
P	?	?	One day downstream from R
Q	Joseito Menor	La Vigía	2 km. downstream from R
R	Olivet	El Gomal	One league (5 km.) from the Cinaruco and one day in summer or 1 1/2 days in winter--because the Casanarito, which is deep, must be crossed with a raft--from community no. 7, the spot on the Capanaparo which is closest to it.
S	?	?	Near R
T	?	?	

6:Le Besnerais--13j E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
U	?	Lagunota	Traversed by Raymond Fiasson (36) in 36. See "infra" IV List...21 and 22. Nov./Dec. 1946. At sources of the Náure.
V	?	?	On the Caño Amarillo
W	Alfonso (reputed a thief)	Ceiba	At sources of the Macanillita
Between the Capanaparo and Riecito Rivers:			
X	Nicolás	?	On the right bank of the Capanaparo between communities No. 22 and 23.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
Y	Padrón (reputed a thief)	?	At the sources of the Caño Perro de Agua.
Z	?	Moriche	Near a lagoon and not far from community no. 28.
Between the Riecito and Cinaruco Rivers:			
AA	Pablo and José Losa Cardona (other name cited: Leyi).	Reicero	On a dune located at the sources of the Cinarucquito, the Cinaruco, or the Riecito, or near the Cinaruquito and 1/2 day's travel on foot from the right bank of the Riecito or one day by canoe (up to the Paso Reicero) from the Boca del Riecito.
AB	Nicolás	?	

6:Le Besneraïs--13L E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

[SS1 E-22]

103
36

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
AC	Basilio	?	On the Cinaruquito, to the South of the Venezuelan farm Sol y Sombra.
On the Cinaruco River:			
AD	Pablo Emilio	?	At the Paso Mina
AE	?	Santa Rosa	
AF	Julio	?	South of the Venezuelan farm Sol y Sombra
AG	José Lopez Paez	?	

6:Le Besnerais--13m E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19